

Obama's New Lobbying Ethics Reform: a Polemic in Washington
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Abstract

When Barrack Obama took office in 2009, he issued an executive order to stop the influence special interests have had in government and to close the revolving door between government service and financial rewards in the private sector. It's no surprise Obama has taken a serious view of the issue. As a senator, Obama championed ethics and transparency. The issue led to the signature of legislative accomplishments of his short Senate career- the 2007 ethics bill and a government-spending database he helped create with Senator Tom Coburn. Watchdog groups that had clashed with the Bush administration previously, have cheered many of Obama's moves at that time. One aspect of the Obama order as president puts limits on lobbyists serving in government. These limits appear to be having unintended consequences for employees of organizations, especially those registered as lobbyists and working in the public interest.

ملخص

أقدم باراك أوباما بعد انتخابه رئيسا للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية على تعديلات سياسية غير مسبوقه، تتحكم في تأثير الجماعات الضاغطة على الحكومة الأمريكية، إذ قام بسن قوانين تحد من فعاليتها وتشل حركيتها في أروقة البيت الأبيض. كل هذه القرارات التي اتخذها أوباما أدت إلى أزمة حقيقية لم تعشها الحكومة الأمريكية من قبل، حيث اعترضت جماعات الضغط عليها واعتبرتها عائقا في وجه اللوبي الذي يدافع بلا هوادة عن مصالح المواطنين الأمريكيين، واعتبرتها خرقا للدستور الذي يضمن الحريات الفردية والعمومية للشعب الأمريكي. وفي هذا الصدد، يحاول هذا المقال تسليط الضوء على هذه الأزمة التي تسببت فيها القوانين و التعديلات الجديدة، وتحليل الأسباب التي أدت بالسلطة التنفيذية إلى اتخاذها، ثم ردة فعل الجماعات الضاغطة التي انتقدت بشدة هذه القوانين التي سنها الرئيس الأمريكي وحاربتها بشراسة.

In a speech to state lawmakers, Obama outlined what he called “unprecedented restrictions” to increase the transparency on how the government spends money on projects to boost the economy and create jobs.

In his memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies, Obama insisted on ensuring responsible spending of Recovery Act funds as he pointed out that his Administration is committed to ensuring that public funds are expended responsibly and in a transparent manner. He signed into law the “American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009” that he considered as an investment package designed to provide a necessary boost to American economy in the difficult times of the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, and to create jobs, restore economic growth, and strengthen America's middle class.

The Recovery Act, according to Obama, is designed to stimulate the economy through measures that modernize the Nation's infrastructure, jump start American

energy independence, expand high-quality educational opportunities, preserve and improve access to affordable health care, provide middle-class tax relief, and protect those in greatest need. This project is not intended to fund projects for special interests.⁽¹⁾

In implementing the Recovery Act, the American president has undertaken unprecedented efforts to ensure the responsible distribution of funds for the Act's purposes and to provide public transparency and accountability of expenditures. He refused to allow Recovery Act funds to be distributed on the basis of factors other than the merits of proposed projects or in response to improper influence or pressure.

President Obama issued a directive requiring lobbyists to make their requests in writing about the projects they believe should be awarded from the \$787 billion economic stimulus bill, saying the plan "will not be an excuse for waste and abuse." The conversations between federal lobbyists and his administration would be disclosed on the Internet. "Whenever a project comes up for review, we're going to ask a simple question," "Does it advance the core mission of the Recovery Act? Does it jump-start job creation? Does it lay the foundation for lasting prosperity?"⁽²⁾

Obama kicked off his presidency by placing limits on the interaction his administration can have with lobbyists to avoid probable corruption. Indeed, the executive order he issued prevents administration officials from lobbying the executive branch as long as he is president, and they also can't accept gifts from lobbyists. And if a lobbyist leaves K Street to serve in the administration, he can't work in an area on which he lobbied for at least two years. "As of today, lobbyists will be subject to stricter limits than under any other administration in history." (Wingfield 71)

We suppose that the president renewed his pledge to prevent waste from creeping into projects that are paid through the economic plan. That's why, he rejected a proposal to use the stimulus money to pay for modernizing the electrical and heating systems in the East Wing of the White House because the project "will not create many jobs or advance our recovery." (Garlen 125)

He also provided few details about the disclosure requirements for lobbyists and his administration. He explained that all requests for projects must be made in writing, so their value could be assessed and available for review. "Decisions about how recovery money will be spent will be based on the merits. They will not be made as a way of doing favors for lobbyists." (Vaida 1).

Similarly, Obama announced the accountability plan in which his administration has come under intense criticism for allowing bonuses to be paid to executives at companies that have been given a financial lifeline from the government. Even as he took a tough posture on the spending, he conceded that some projects may not be as worthy as others. "No plan is perfect," "And I can't stand here and promise you that not one single dollar will slip through the cracks, but what I can promise you is that we will do everything in our power to prevent that from happening." (Morgan 1)

New lobbying ethics

In his attempt to ensure transparency of registered lobbyist communications, Obama affirmed that an executive department or agency official shall not consider the view of a lobbyist registered under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, concerning particular

projects, applications, or applicants for funding under the Recovery Act unless such views are in writing. Besides, no considerations contained in oral or written communications from any person or entity concerning particular projects, applications, or applicants for funding shall supersede.

Concerning any oral communication (in-person or telephonic) with any person or entity concerning particular projects, applications, or applicants for funding under the Recovery Act, Obama obliged the executive department or agency official to inquire whether any of the individuals or parties appearing or communicating concerning such particular project, application, or applicant is a lobbyist registered under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

If so, one can deduce that the lobbyist may not attend or participate in the telephonic or in-person contact, but may submit a communication in writing. And all written communications from registered lobbyists concerning the commitment, obligation, or expenditure of funds under the Recovery Act for particular projects shall be posted publicly by the receiving agency or governmental entity on its recovery website within 3 business days after receipt of such communication. (Collins1)

Another rule imposed by Obama ordered the executive department and agency officials to register lobbyists' oral communications concerning general Recovery Act policy issues; provided, however, that such oral communications shall not extend to particular projects for funding, and further the official must contemporaneously or immediately thereafter document in writing: (i) the date and time of the contact on policy issues; (ii) the names of the registered lobbyists and the official(s) between whom the contact took place; and (iii) a short description of the substance of the communication. This writing must be posted publicly by the executive department or agency on its recovery website within 3 business days of the communication. (Runnigen 1)

President Obama decided also freezing the pay of senior White House staff employees who make more than \$100,000 a year and imposing new ethics rules designed to diminish the influence of lobbyists. Besides, he ordered federal agencies to make it easier for the public to get documents and information from the government. "We are here as public servants, and public service is a privilege," addressing his white House staff and Cabinet on his first full day in office. "It's not about advancing yourself or your corporate clients." (Morgan 2)

One assumes that the president's directives were among his first official acts and preceded meetings with his top advisers on the two major challenges facing his administration: the faltering economy and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In all, Obama signed two executive orders and three presidential directives aimed at making government more open and accountable and taking steps toward fulfilling some of his campaign promises. The president said that when top White House aides leave government, they are barred from lobbying "for as long as I am president, and there will be a ban on gifts by lobbyists to anyone serving in the administration." (Lisberman 1)

A lobbyist who joins the Obama administration also is forbidden from working on issues they previously were involved with. Also, any person who leaves the administration will be barred from lobbying government for two years. "We need to close the revolving door that lets lobbyists come into government freely and lets them

use their time in public service,” in order to promote their own interests when they leave. Government hiring, he said, will henceforth be based on qualifications, competence and experience, “not political connections.”(Runnigen 2) That unprecedented statement rose the lobbyists’ anger and protest to a fever pitch.

In addition, Obama schemed what came to be known as “Barrack Obama and Joe Biden's Plan” in which Obama and his Vice-President will centralize ethics and lobbying information for voters and create a centralized Internet database of lobbying reports, ethics, records, and campaign finance filings and require independent monitoring of lobbying laws and ethics rules will fight for an independent watchdog agency to oversee the investigation of congressional ethics violations. (Morgan 3)

Regarding the pay freeze, which will leave pay levels for senior positions where they were under President George W. Bush, Obama said he is acting because “families are tightening their belts and so should Washington.” (Jordan 1) There are more than 100 White House staff positions under the office of the president that pay more than \$100.000 annually, including chief of staff, White House counsel and chief speechwriter. (2)

To promote transparency in government, Obama denoted that federal agencies and departments should err on the side of disclosing information rather than keeping it from the public when responding to Freedom of Information Act requests. “For a long time there has been too much secrecy in this city, the old rules said that if there was a defensible argument for not disclosing something to the American people, then it should not be disclosed. The era is now over.” (Balz 86)

The move was another signal that Obama is making a clear break from the former administration. Bush tightened rules limiting disclosures after the September 11 attacks and came under fire from Democratic members of Congress for withholding documents. Obama better expressed this new tendency as a Senator during his race for presidency: “*I am in this race to tell the corporate lobbyists that their days of setting the agenda in Washington are over. I have done more than any other candidate in this race to take on lobbyists-and won. They have not funded my campaign, they will not run my White House, and they will not drown out the voices of the American people when I am president.*”⁽³⁾

In fact, we think Obama’s rules and restrictions on lobbying were so hard to be accepted by lobbyists serving for so many years in Washington, and the result was a sundry of complaints and protests that couldn’t be hidden for so long by lobby groups.

Critics

President Obama has escalated his war on K Street, proposing a series of tough restrictions a year after he first issued policies aimed at tamping down the influence of lobbyists. However, we think that changing the way business is done in Washington is slow and difficult, underscored by the fact that spending on lobbying reached record levels last year despite the president's reforms and a down economy. The U.S Chamber of Commerce spent \$144 million on its lobbying efforts-a 60 percent increase over 2008's expenditure-leading industry opposition to health-care reform, financial regulations and climate legislation. (Eggen 1)

Although White House supporters say the number of registered lobbyists has declined, some public interest groups say that power has shifted to other Washington insiders and business executives, who do not have to register their activity.

Another blow to Obama's efforts came last year in a Supreme Court ruling that allows corporations and unions to spend unlimited funds on political campaigns, a decision likely to elevate the role of corporate lobbyists as shadow fundraisers, experts say. We think that the success of Obama's efforts is a subject of debate, with both sides pulling out evidence to make their case.

In 2009, Obama barred registered lobbyists from political appointments and thousands of federal advisory boards, released monthly logs of White House visitors and banned spoken communication between outsiders and federal officials about stimulus contracts.

The president unveiled another round of proposals during his state of the Union address Jan.27, 2009 including closing registration loopholes for part-time lobbyists, requiring public disclosure of all lobbying contacts with the government or Congress, and lowering the maximum amount of money that lobbyists can donate or raise for federal election candidates. "We face a deficit of trust-deep and corrosive doubts about how Washington works that have been growing for years," "To close that credibility gap, we have to take action on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue to end the outsized influence of lobbyists, to do our work openly, to give our people the government they deserve." (2).

Although Obama had many opponents, a recent report from four major advocacy groups praised Obama for the steps he's taken. "He's gone further than any other president has really done on ethics and lobbying reform," "In general, early evidence suggests that some good has come of it." (Goldman 69)

The number of registered lobbyists has continued a decline that began after Congress passed lobbying reforms in 2007, which were co-sponsored by then-Senator Obama. The number of registered Washington lobbyists now stands at a more than 13,000, the lowest number since 2004, according to disclosure records. Norm Eisen, Obama's chief ethics counsel, said the decline is a clear vindication for the White House. "We think people are actually leaving the business," Eisen said in a recent interview. "We have bent the demand curve of the special interests. It's no longer acceptable for a lobbyist to come into your office and write the rules governing industry." (Fields1). Indeed, one can understand the position lobbyists took after feeling tightened and squeezed by such rules that limit their connections.

In fact, the administration's policies have outraged major lobbying firms on K Street, even though they have had an uncertain impact on their business: The Center for Responsive Politics reported that final lobbying expenditures last year reached \$3.47 billion, a 5 percent increase from the \$3.3 billion spent in 2008. The tally represents a lower rate of growth than in previous years, but disclosure records and interviews suggest that the slowdown was caused more by the economy than by new lobbying policies. (Carroll 72)

Another criticism directed to Obama was his staff. As President Obama begins his first term in office, the former candidate who railed against the influence of lobbyists is now employing former lobbyists, some of whom were working on K Street just a few months ago.

For instance, in November 2007, Obama boasted at a campaign event that lobbyists “won’t find a job in my White House.” He later softened that rhetoric to say that lobbyists “won’t dominate” the White House.⁽⁴⁾ National Journal therefore is tracking the number of lobbyists in the executive branch. However, as of January 21, Obama had nominated two recent lobbyists to high-level administration posts, and 12 of the 112 White House staffers that Obama had named had been registered as lobbyists at some point since 2005.

We think at least a dozen lobbyists worked on Obama’s transition team, and at least one member of his national security team was a lobbyist. This trend was worrisome to some watchdog groups until Obama signed an executive order on January 21 setting strict rules on former lobbyists entering his administration and governing what they can do immediately after they leave. “If you are a lobbyist entering my administration, you will not be able to work on matters you lobbied on or in the agencies that you lobbied during the previous two years,” “When you leave government, you will not be able to lobby my administration for as long as I am president.” (Wingfield 89).

On the one hand, there were some groups who praised Obama’s stand. For example, Obama’s move was applauded by Craig Holman, the legislative representative for Public Citizen, who called the executive order “a very strong beginning for ethics reform.” (90)

Meanwhile, for those on K Street, Obama’s willingness to hire lobbyists at all is a vindication of sorts after they had to endure a long election campaign in which they were pummeled over their profession.” “I applaud Obama for facing the reality that he was going to need people who know how Washington works and some of them might just have been lobbyists,” said David Wenhold, president of the American League of Lobbyists and co-founder of Miller/Wenhold Capitol Strategies. “It was great in theory for him to say, ‘No lobbyists,’ but it simply doesn’t work in practice.” (Eggen 3)

Obama nominated William V. Corr, executive director of the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, to be deputy Health and Human Services Secretary. He also tapped William Lynn, vice president of government operations and strategy at Raytheon, to be deputy Defense secretary. Both men were federally registered lobbyists until June 30, 2008. Expectations are that three other lobbyists or former lobbyists will be nominated for political positions: Richard Verma, a lobbyist for Steptoe & Johnson, is rumored to be in line for the post of assistant secretary for legislative affairs at the State Department; Mark Patterson, who was a lobbyist for Goldman Sachs until April 11, 2008, is being considered for a top job at the Treasury Department; and Mark Gitenstein, who took a leave from Mayer Brown last summer, is said to be Obama’s choice to head the justice Department’s Office of Policy-Development. (Vaida 2)

Still, one may consider Obama’s hiring of lobbyists as disappointing but not entirely unexpected. There were 13,926 active registered lobbyists as of September 30, 2008, according to the Senate Office of Public Records, so it’s no surprise that many policy people have lobbied during their years in Washington. “There are two ways to

look at this,” said Bill Buzenberg, executive director of the Center for public Integrity. “Either he is backtracking on his pledge, or it’s that to find the best, the most-experienced people, it’s impossible to fill these jobs without hiring people who have been lobbyists. It’s disappointing either way, but it seems to be the [political] system we have.” (Gitz 120)

Similarly, The Republican National Committee criticized these rules and said the new administration was already violating it. A lobbyist expressed his stand “I realize that children are « off limits » but Joe Biden’s son Hunter has been a registered lobbyist since 2001 and this year alone took in more than 2 million dollars in this area.” (Barrow 58)

Nor are the Obama hires surprising to a number of Democrats on K Street. In mid-2008, the then-candidate’s staff began quietly reaching out to some individuals, suggesting that if they terminated their lobbying status or took a leave, they might be considered for administration posts, lobbyists told National Journal.

However, we think hiring someone who is not “currently” registered but who was lobbying six months ago is a narrow policy for dealing with conflicts of interest. Lobbies are particularly concerned about Obama’s choice of Lynn at Defense because he can’t see how Lynn will be able to recuse himself from policy decisions that might affect Raytheon. But an Obama spokesman said, “Because Mr. Lynn came so highly recommended from experts across the political spectrum, the president felt it was critical that he fill this position. We are aware that Mr. Lynn lobbied for Raytheon, and are working with Mr. Lynn to craft a role for him that is consistent with the president’s high standards while balancing the need to fill this critical national security position.” (Morgan 4) The spokesman also said that Corr would remove himself from working on tobacco-related issues.

A senior White House official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, conceded the two nominees did not adhere to the new rules. But he said that Mr. Lynn had the support of republicans and democrats, and would receive a waiver under the policy, and that Mr. Corr did not need to a waiver because he had agreed to recuse himself from tobacco issues.

When you set very tough rules, you need to have a mechanism for the occasional exception; I thought Obama’s sweeping condemnation of lobbyists was better campaign rhetoric than policy. The reality is that some lobbyists are as nefarious as advertised and some are not. But if you’re going to campaign on sweeping condemnations about the evil of lobbyists and then, with great fanfare, ban them from your administration, you need to live by your own rules; or at least you shouldn’t start making exceptions for them on Day1.” (Schlesinger 1)

Another very tough critic directed to Obama was a more complicated truth on his campaign contributions while Barrack Obama said he hadn’t taken money from lobbyists. The election, he said, was boiling down to a “choice between debating John Mc Cain about lobbying reform with a nominee who’s taken more money from lobbyists than he has,(presumably Hilary Clinton) or doing it with a campaign that hasn’t taken a dime of their money because “we’ve been funded by you the American people.” (2)

That he does not take money from lobbyists or from political action committees (PACs) is a point Obama often makes on the campaign trail, and his no-dirty-money

rhetoric has positioned him as the candidate brave enough to shun business as usual in Washington. As a matter of fact, in November 2007 in Iowa, he said corporate lobbyists “have not funded my campaign.” And in December he said in a New Hampshire Public Radio Program, “I intend to tell the corporate lobbyists that their days of setting the agenda in Washington are over, that they had not funded my campaigns...”(Fields 2) We think his message of financial purity is catching on. For just one reason that Obama has been careful not to compromise himself, “rejecting campaign support from Political Action Committees and lobbyists.” (Lisberman 2)

However, one can suppose that the word "lobbyist" seems to have a particular meaning in Obama's campaign vocabulary. We think that his stump speeches imply that he is not taking money from people who want things from the government and push for them. The reality, we think, is that he has.

To explain, Opensecrets.Org; the Website of the Center for Responsive Politics, is the most authoritative source on campaign finances which basing its reports on data from the Federal Election Commission; shows that Obama indeed doesn't take much money from a sector the Center calls "lobbyists." Through the end of December, 2007 Clinton received more than \$800,000 and Mc Cain around \$400,000 from this group; which the Center says includes people who work for lobbying firms at the local, state, and federal level and their relatives who are not otherwise employed, as well as those who are officially registered as Washington lobbyists.

Obama received contributions of about just \$86,000 from this group, and his Website says he doesn't take money from Washington lobbyists or political action committees, and the Center says that if his campaign finds that the money came from registered Washington lobbyists, it does get returned. (3)

How meaningful is this? “It's a politically smart position for him to take. It sounds profound,” says Massie Ritsch, communications director for the Center for Responsive Politics." But we think neither PAC's nor lobbyists give a lot to presidential campaigns. As assumed by many analysts, he's not leaving a whole lot of money on the table by eschewing PACs and lobbyists. (4)

PAC money represents only about one percent of all the money in a presidential race because so many people donate that their contributions dwarf PAC money. Significantly, the Center's lobbyist sector excludes in-house lobbyists who work solely for one company, union; trade association, or other group. We suppose these people may lobby, but their contributions are grouped in the totals for the various industries they represent, along with contributions from other employees in the sector, their relatives, whatever PAC money has been raised, and donations from trade and professional associations which, of course, carry lots of weight in the horse trading that occur when legislation is drafted. (Corporations cannot contribute directly to candidates) (3)

We believe contributions made by the various industry sectors tell the real story in a presidential race. And Opensecrets.org shows that Obama is picking up gobs of money put on the table by these special interests-including those involved in health care, which will surely have a lot riding on the outcome of the election and will expect to be heard after the election is over.

The Boston Globe, in a piece by Scott Helman, took a hard look at Obama's contributions, noting that "behind Obama's campaign rhetoric about taking on special

interests lays a more complicated truth." (Helman 15) That truth revealed that as state legislator in Illinois, a U.S. senator, and as presidential aspirant, Obama had collected hundreds of thousands of dollars from lobbyists and PACs. Helman quoted an Obama campaign spokeswoman saying that after he experienced firsthand the influence of Washington lobbyists, he was taking a different approach to fundraising than he had in the past, and that "his leadership position on this issue is an evolving process." (20)

Similarly, and in the same line of critics, an unlikely alliance of groups including one co-founded by Obama's chief ethics adviser argue that the restrictions will penalize those who play by the rules while doing nothing to curb the influence of large corporations and campaign.

Leaders of the groups, which include citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington and the American League of Lobbyists, also said that they are preparing to challenge the guidelines of First Amendment grounds if the administration does not agree to revise them. "President Obama has managed to unconstitutionally ban American Citizens from one of our most sacred rights, and its flat-out wrong," said Dave Wenhold, president of the lobbying league, which has joined CREW and the American Civil Liberties Union in demanding a repeal of the gag rules. "This is not how a democracy works; this is how a totalitarian regime works..." (Collins 2)

Conclusion

The basic problem in this controversy, we conclude, is how to limit excess influence without limiting free speech. Everyone decries the influence of lobbyists in Washington, but most American people can probably think of some group or cause Americans would like to see promoted in Washington, and probably think it's a bad thing for those lobbyists to go unheard. But in effect, we think, Obama's well-intentioned restrictions on lobbying mean not just restrictions on lobbyists for Walmart, Exxon, McDonalds, etc., but also restrictions on lobbyists for Ducks Unlimited, the Boy scouts, and any town in America.

Many lobbyists think as we do that these ethical guidelines released today for the Obama transition are tough and unequivocal. They will prevent, supposedly, some honorable people, particularly non-profit organizations, with rich experience from serving in the transition. We believe that is a real cost but it is more than balanced by the strong signal sent by the President-elect. He aspires to attract to government able individuals whose highest priority is to serve the public interest, and this is a very constructive step in that direction.

Today, we think that the President-elect is taking those commitments even further by announcing the strictest and most far reaching ethics rules of any transition team in history.

However, we assume that the unfortunate truth about the vilification of the lobbying profession is that most Americans have no idea what a lobbyist does or that they are represented by a half-dozen lobbyists that help improve their quality of life every day. In fact, most everything in a person's life is represented by one or more lobbyists – teachers, doctors, dentists, dairy farmers, boys and girls clubs, police officers, restaurants, drycleaners, fireman and so on.

Nevertheless, we do believe that Obama's contradictory decisions urged many lobbyists to express their discontent:

As a registered lobbyist in Washington who has practiced his profession for 30 years, I find Senator Obama's diatribes against lobbyist to be artificial populism that borders on demagoguery. We can't fight back because that would threaten our relationships with elected officials and their staffs. Every day I see members of special interest groups (from nurses to mayors to corporate excess) lined up with their lobbyists waiting to get into the House and Senate office buildings. Break this incestuous money connection and there will be real change in Washington.” (qtd in Zimmer142)

We think that the lobbying community will do as it always has: comply with the rules and regulations put upon it. And despite all of the negativity surrounding the process, over 15,000 registered lobbying professionals will continue to ethically represent their clients, associations, unions, companies and concerned citizens with dignity and without much of a fuss, while jumping through all of the new hoops placed before them. Ninety-nine percent of lobbyists are continually doing right by their clients and working to ensure that their voices are heard in Washington.

As a matter of fact, everyone is a lobbyist of some sort and should be actively involved in ensuring their government is protecting them and providing opportunities for success. Meredith Mc Gehee, policy director for the Legal Center, says Obama's lobbying restrictions “make clear that public service should not be viewed as a means of enriching oneself after leaving a federal position.” (Jordan 3) They also shine a light on revolving-door politics in Washington, a phenomenon that is widespread-though not always problematic.

We can say that lobbying is an important part of how the nation's capital works in a country that thrives on personal relationships and knowledge of regulatory intricacies. Government officials do in fact often leave the bureaucracy to take higher-paying positions at Beltway firms, but they're also the ones with the expertise and the connections to be able to influence legislation. And they do this on behalf of individuals, nonprofits, labor unions and other interest groups, as well as corporations.

Notes

- 1- See Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies, Federal Register, American Political Science Review 30, N°3, (2009): 265.
- 2- See Zeleny Jeff. Obama's Lobbying Restrictions (New York: Mc Graw Hill, 2009):143.
- 3- See Barack Obama, Speech in Des Moines, IA November 10, 2007 cited in Robert Fields, Politics and Policy (New York: U.S New World Report, 2010):45.
- 4- See Vaida, Bara. “Former lobbyists Join Obama” National Journal Magazine (April 2009):152.

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